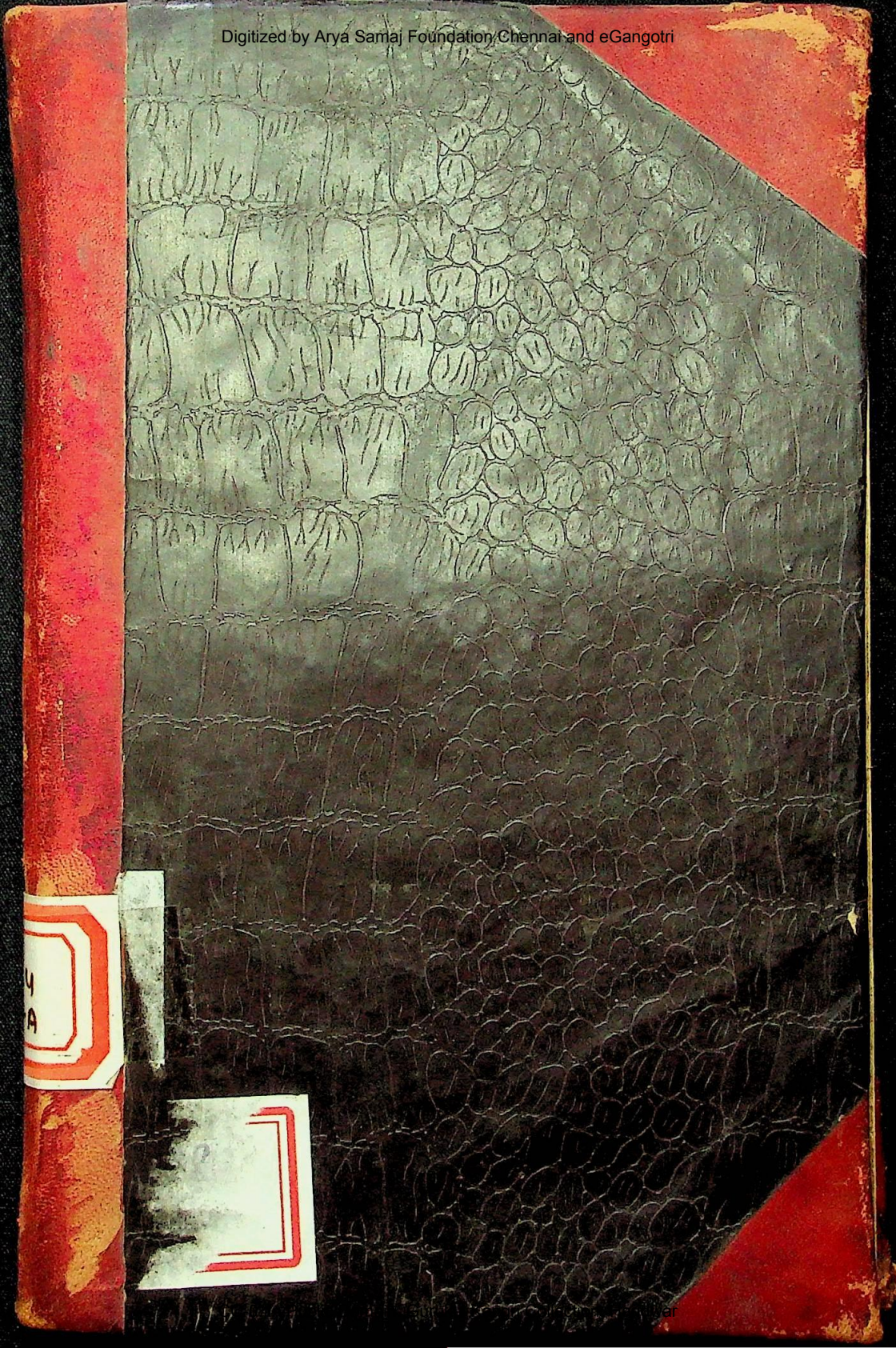




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The AWAKENING

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Vol. IV

No. 2

FEBRUARY 1982

LET MY COUNTRY AWAKE

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought
and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—*Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941)*

The Awakening

Monthly Journal of the Lok Sevak Sangh, a non-party, non-power seeking organisation of voluntary constructive workers, constituted by Servants of the People Society, Delhi Branch and dedicated to the service of the Indian people.

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I am in earnest, I will not equivocate; I will not excuse, I will not retreat an inch—and I will be heard.

—William Lloyd Garrison

Letter from the Editor

New Delhi
February 15, 1982

Dear Reader,

In response to the persistent efforts of the Citizens Action Committee for Clean Politics (constituted by Delhi units of the five non-party organisations of constructive workers viz.—Lok Sevak Sangh, Hindustani Andolan, Voters Council, Citizens for Democracy and People's Union for Civil Liberties) the major political parties in the opposition have started sending in their replies. I give below a brief summary—

Shri Chandra Shekhar, President Janata Party writes :

“I acknowledge with thanks your printed letter dated 23.10.1981. I hope everyone will endorse in principle the five Citizens Demands listed in the annexure to the letter. However the modalities and technicalities have to be worked out in consultation with all those concerned”.

Shri Rabi Ray, Secretary, Lok Dal writes—

“Thank you very much for your letter dated October 23. I agree in principle with all the five citizens demands that you have justly enunciated in your letter. I also very much appreciate your efforts in this regard. I wish you God-speed in your efforts.”

Shri Sikander Bakht, General Secretary, Bhartiya Janata Party writes, inter alia.—

“I have gone through the demands listed by the Lok Sevak Sangh. There can be no two opinions about the eradication of the mischief of corruption, both economic and political from our society. I am

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not quite sure if law alone can help. What is really required is to strengthen the social fabric of our nation so that the people of this country start insisting on the rejection of a corrupt politician.

I have not the least doubt that defection should at all costs be stemmed from our political activity. It is shameful as it is, but the proportion adopted in our country make every political person hang his head in shame. During the Janata regime an anti-defection Bill was introduced, but the Government was forced to withdraw it on account of an overwhelming opinion that this Bill was militating against the personal freedom of an individual. It was unfortunate. About the same was the fate with regard to the institution of Lokpal.

All political parties claim that their senior leaders, specially the Ministers, are required to declare their assets and also to submit their accounts. I think everybody does it and yet there are people who are hood-winking this condition very cleverly.

About the use of money in the elections, our party is already committed to introducing reforms in the entire election process and machinery so that the use of immense money is eliminated."

Shri N.C. Krishnan, Secretary, National Council, Communist Party of India, writes—

"Our Party fully supports the main proposals you have made in relation to checking defections, eliminating corruption in the seats of power, and curbing the power of money in the elections. These are made clear in the proposals for electoral reforms we have submitted. I may also point out to you in this connection that in the draft political resolution which is placed before our next Party Congress due to be held at Varanasi from March 22 to 28, 1982, we have suggested in the programmatic platform for Left and democratic unity, the following :

Stringent action against black money operators, instead of rewarding them with Bearer Bonds, and effective measures to mop up black money.

For nationalisation of the monopoly houses, foreign companies and foreign trade. As a first step, nationalisation of foreign drug companies, sugar, textiles, jute and foreign trade.

Effective steps for elimination of corruption, including permanent judicial machinery both at the centre and in the states, for inquiring into allegations of corruption against ministers, other public men holding high executive positions and Class I officers.

Every effort made by democratic forces in the country to eliminate corruption and to curb the power of black money will meet with fullest support from our Party”.

The replies from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Congress (S) are expected during the next fortnight. The Action Committee have written to the Law Minister, Shri Jagan Nath Kaushal, requesting him to intimate the position and the latest thinking of the Government of India in regard to the five specific demands of the Citizens.

II

Since no reply has been received from the Congress (I) a reminder has been sent to its President, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, as summarised below :—

“At the end of our letter dated 23rd October, we have stated five specific demands on behalf of the citizens concerned. We shall be most grateful to know, particularly with reference to para 7 of the letter, the position of your party. The support of the ruling party to the five demands, in principle, will go a long way to bring about probity and moral rectitude in our public life. We therefore attach great importance to your party's response to the five demands, particularly regarding :—

- (a) enactment of an anti-defection law and, pending such enactment, acceptance of a Code of Honour whereby no political

party shall induce, accept or reward the defection of any legislator elected on another party's ticket; and

(b) appointment of a Lokpal at the Centre.

Our Committee shall be grateful for an opportunity to meet you, on any date and time suiting your convenience, for placing our viewpoint before you. Our Committee has already met the Leaders of a few National parties in the opposition and would now like to meet you as the Head of the Ruling Party. In case your goodself and your party are in broad agreement regarding the need for anti-defection legislation and the appointment of Lokpal our Committee would be prepared to work for and place before you, as our Prime Minister, a model Bill on the two subjects carrying maximum possible consensus of the national opposition parties, to facilitate the passage of the two Bills in Parliament's forthcoming Budget session. Kindly let us know early and oblige."

III

In order to give the Ruling Party and the Government of India further time to respond to the the Citizens demands, the Action Committee have decided to postpone the proposed Satyagraha against political corruption from 18th February to a day on or about 23rd March, 1982. The Committee, as a non-party Citizens Forum, would not like to be charged with impatience—though it has been patient enough—nor with any desire to precipitate any conflict with the Government. Satyagraha, in the true Gandhian tradition pre-supposes tremendous patience and restraint and the readiness, always, to negotiate on the details or modalities without compromising on the fundamentals. Meanwhile, along with the appeal to the Government and the political leadership of the country, the Action Committee is trying to contact the educated Citizens in Delhi (whose responsibility as the residents of the Capital is even greater in this matter), for their moral support and, if possible, participation in the campaign against corruption. May I appeal to you, if you have not already responded, to do so now ?

While concluding, let us, dear Reader, sit together and listen to the words of Swami Vivekananda again—

“So long as the millions die in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who, having been educated at their expense, pays not the least heed to them.....This life is short, the vanities of the world are transient, but they alone live who live for others, the rest are more dead than alive”.

Yours truthfully,
S.D. Sharma

Dear Readers,

To spread the message of truth, love and service, *the Awakening* is sent to you at the subsidised price of Re. 1/- or even less, @ Rs. 10/-per annum, while its bare cost is Rs. 2/-per copy. Therefore, unless you have already done so, kindly do remit atleast Rs. 10/- as your annual subscription before 31st March, 1982. Thanks. —Ed.

The Judges' Case

N. A. Palkhivala

An independent judiciary is the very heart of a Republic. The foundation of a democracy, the source of its perennial vitality, the condition for its growth, and the hope for its welfare—all lie in that great institution, an independent judiciary.

Those who share the above sentiments must have been greatly disappointed by the majority judgment of the Supreme Court in what has come to be known as the Judges' case. One may well wonder whether it was worth hearing arguments at such length, looking into so many confidential State papers and laying down eloquently so many lofty general principles, if in the net result no relief was to be given to the petitioners and the direct consequence of the judgement was to be the strengthening of the hand of the executive which has been of late so heavy on the judiciary.

I shall examine in this article only a few of the significant facets of the judgment, after giving a brief summary of what the Court was called upon to decide and what it decided.

There were three main issues in the petitions before the Supreme Court—(1) whether the Law Minister's circular dated 18th March 1981 seeking the consent of Additional Judges to be appointed in other States was valid; (2) whether an Additional Judge could be dropped without giving him an extension, despite mounting arrears of work; and (3) in what circumstances could a High Court Judge be transferred to another High Court.

There were two propositions on which there was no controversy; the independence of the judiciary is a cardinal principle of our Constitution, and an additional judge of a High Court is not appointed on probation.

Each of the seven Judges delivered a separate judgment. All were agreed upon the locus standi of lawyers to present the petition, and on the historical fact that Article 224 which deals with the appointment of Additional Judges has been misused since 1956, when it was first introduced into the Constitution.

By a majority verdict, all the petitions were dismissed and no relief was given in any case.

Transfer of Chief Justice K. B. N. Singh :

The transfer of Chief Justice K.B.N. Singh from the Patna High Court to the Madras High Court was made by the President of India under Article 222 which says, "The President may, after consultation with the Chief Justice of India, transfer a judge from one High Court to another High Court". The Chief Justice of India filed an affidavit stating on oath that there had been a full and effective consultation between him and the President (the Government of India) in respect of the transfer of Chief Justice Singh. It is significant to note that the Law Minister, though a party to the proceedings, filed no affidavit.

The only question in that petition was whether the order transferring Chief Justice Singh was valid and constitutional. The contest was clearly between the petitioners who challenged the validity of the order and the Government of India ("the President") who had passed the order. By no rational test could the Chief Justice of India be regarded as "a litigant" or as having any interest in the outcome of the litigation. The decision to effect the transfer was entirely that of the Government—the party consulted can never become the deciding authority.

Bhagawati, J. voiced the minority view when he held that the transfer of Chief Justice Singh to the Madras High Court was invalid. In my opinion, the majority view upholding the transfer was clearly right, since the transfer had been effected in the public interest and without any oblique motive. No doubt every judge has the jurisdiction to decide rightly or wrongly. But what is regrettable is that the judgment of Bhagawati, J. dealing with the transfer of Chief Justice Singh, is couched in language which occasionally lapses into questionable taste when dealing with the conduct and affidavit of Chief Justice of India.

The averments in the affidavit of the Chief Justice of India, as one would expect from such a deponent were carefully drafted and worded. But Bhagawati, J. finds them "vague and indefinite," "delightfully vague", a "little intriguing" and "the Constitutional incantation". Apart from the fact that this criticism of the affidavit of the Chief Justice of India was totally unjustified, one is constrained to observe that respect for the office of the head of the Indian Judiciary warranted a choice of more dignified words in the judgment of a brother judge.

Locus Standi :

The unanimous judgment of the Supreme Court regarding locus standi of lawyers to agitate the issue was clearly right. In fact no other view was possible. It is well settled that any member of the public has a right to bring before the Court a "public interest" case, provided he has a sufficient interest in the proceedings and is not a wayfarer, inter-loper, officious intervener or busybody. Obviously, the case before the Supreme Court fell in the category of "public interest" cases; and lawyers do have "sufficient interest" in judicial appointments.

On 24th May 1949 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stated in the Constituent Assembly that our judges should be "first-rate men" of "the highest integrity" who could stand up against the executive government and whoever may come in their way". But Jawaharlal Nehru's standadrs are no longer in vogue. Inconvenient judges who stand up against the executive are sought to be transferred to other States with the ostensible purpose of furthering "national integration". In reality, the policy of transfer of Judges is calculated to accomplish disintegration of judicial independence rather than national integration.

On 18th March 1981 the then Law Minister issued a circular addressed to the Chief Ministers of different States in which he requested them (a) to obtain from all the Additional Judges of the High Court their consent to be appointed as permanent Judges in any other High Court in the country, and (b) also to obtain similar consent from those who have been, or in the future are to be, proposed for appointment as Judges. The letter also carried a request to obtain from the Additional Judges and the proposed appointees names of three High Courts in the order of preference to which they would like to be appointed as Judges

or permanent Judges as the case may be. It was added that the written consent and preferences of the Additional Judges and the proposed appointees should be sent to the Law Minister within a fortnight of the receipt of the letter.

The majority of the Supreme Court Judges held that the Law Minister's circular did not deal with transfer, because it contemplated the reappointment of an Additional Judge to another State after his present tenure ended. No doubt, this is technically true. The Godfather in the famous novel bearing that name was speaking likewise the technical truth when after getting his rival murdered by an assassin, he told his wife, "I did not kill him". In form, the Law Minister's circular letter did not deal with transfer. In substance, the Additional Judge was asked to consent to his transfer to another State by forgoing his legitimate expectation to be appointed for a further term or to be made a permanent Judge in the very High Court where he functioned.

The sharp reaction to the Law Minister's circular throughout the country was perfectly natural, having regard to the far-from-creditable record of the ruling party.—

"In April 1973 the supersession of Justices, Shelat, Hegde and Grover and the appointment of Justice Ray as the Chief Justice.

During the Emergency the transfer of 16 judges when the record showed that none of them was transferred for the proclaimed purpose that is of "national integration"; and the already prepared list of 40 other Judges who were to be transferred later.

In January 1976 the refusal to extend the term of U.R. Lalit, the Additional Judge of the Bombay High Court, who had granted bail to some students during the Emergency; and in February 1976 the refusal to continue R. N. Aggarwal, the Additional Judge of the Delhi High Court who had ordered Kuldeep Nayar to be released from preventive detention.

In January 1977, the supersession of Justice H. R. Khanna who had handed down the classic dissent in favour of the detenu in the Habeas Corpus case and the appointment of Justice Beg as the Chief Justice.

In 1980 five High Courts had only acting Chief Justices who remained unconfirmed (Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir and Rajasthan). The shocking new practice of appointment of Additional Judges for only a few months at a time.

Leaving Additional Judges guessing till the last moment whether their term would be extended or not with the result that some of them had to be re-sworn just a few hours or minutes before their term was due to expire."

The circular letter was issued at a time when politicians in high positions had been indulging in a campaign of denigrating the higher judiciary, treating every court decision adverse to the Government as a deliberate and motivated attack on the executive. A Chief Minister of a prominent State had talked of the "Dictatorship of the Court", while a Cabinet Minister in the Central Government had bracketed the judiciary with the opposition parties. The circular, no doubt, aggravated the atmosphere of fear enveloping the Additional Judges.

Bhagawati, J. expressing the majority view upheld the circular on the ground that "it has no constitutional or legal sanction behind it" and that it is "a document without any legal force." If this reasoning is right, the Court must also uphold a circular letter which communicates to each Judge through the Chief Minister that "the Government of India thinks very highly of those value-packed Judges who never rule against the Government, and will consider favourably their promotion to the Supreme Court". You need an aptitude of engaging child-like innocence not to realise that a circular letter from the Law Minister can undermine judicial independence most effectively, while ensuring that it has "no constitutional or legal sanction" behind it.

The minority view voiced by Gupta, Tulzapurkar and Pathak, JJ that the Law Minister's circular letter was invalid, is I think clearly the right view.

Additional Judges.

Article 216 of the Constitution reads, "Every High Court shall consist of a Chief Justice and such other Judges as the President may

from time to time deem it necessary to appoint". The Article implies a constitutional obligation on the President to ensure that the High Court is fully constituted.

Article 224 (2) of the Constitution makes it clear that Additional Judges can be appointed only when it is necessary to increase the number of the judges for the time being "by reason of any temporary increase in the business of a High Court or by reason of arrears of work therein," and the appointment has to be made for a period "not exceeding two years".

On 31st December 1980 the number of cases pending in the various High Courts was 6,78,951; it was 6,13,799 on 31st December 1978.

On 18th March 1981—the date of the circular letter—the aggregate sanctioned strength of permanent Judges of High Courts was 308, while the aggregate sanctioned strength of Additional Judges was 97. This means that the sanctioned strength of Additional Judges was almost one-third of that of permanent Judges. Surely, those Additional Judges ought to have been appointed as permanent Judges if the constitutional duty under Article 216 of manning High Courts sufficiently had to be discharged.

The dereliction of the constitutional duty was compounded by the fact that appointments were not made even up to the sanctioned strengths of permanent and Additional Judges. On 18th March 1981 there were as many as 85 vacancies in the High Courts, and on 30th September 1981 there were 76.

Nothing could be better calculated to destroy the sanctity of the Constitution than the continuance of a practice which is against both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution. By any rational standard, the various High Courts are grossly undermanned.

It is a matter of great regret that the Supreme Court did not issue a direction restraining the Government from appointing hereafter any Additional Judges, till at least the vacancies in the sanctioned strength of permanent Judges had been filled up. As Gupta, J. said : "The independance of the judiciary depends to a great extent on the security

of tenure of the Judges. If the Judge's tenure is uncertain or precarious, it would be difficult for him to perform the duties of his office without fear or favour."

The Judges in a minority (Gupta, Tulzapurkar and Pathak, JJ) were right in holding that the case of Kumar, J. of the Delhi High Court required to be reconsidered by the President for an extension of the term. The majority rejected his plea on the wholly unwarranted assumption that there was a full and effective consultation with the Chief Justice of India, although the record of the case gave no support to the view that the grave allegations against Kumar, contained in the letter dated 7th May 1981 addressed by the Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court to the Law Minister, were ever disclosed to the Chief Justice of India.

I would like to comment on the position under Article 217 which requires that in matters of appointment of High Court Judges the President must have free and effective consultation with the Chief Justice of India, the Governor of the State and the Chief Justice of the High Court. In dealing with Kumar's case where the advice of the Chief Justice of India was contrary to that of the Chief Justice of Delhi High Court, Bhagwati, J. held that under Article 217 the opinion of all the three functionaries who are to be consulted stands on the same footing and the opinion of the Chief Justice of India has no primacy. Bhagwati, J's ruling is unacceptable because its logical consequence is to put no higher value on the opinion of the Chief Justice of India than that of the Governor of the State. In my opinion, if the Government were to reject the advice of the Chief Justice of India merely on the ground that it has received contrary advice from the Chief Justice of the State or the Governor, it would not only be acting unrealistically and unwisely but it would be guilty of constitutional impropriety. In Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's time cases arose where the advice of the Chief Justice of India differed from that of the other functionaries, and Nehru abided by the advice of the Chief Justice of India.

The President is not an umpire or arbiter with freedom to choose the advice which suits him. On a proper reading of the constitutional

scheme, primacy should be accorded to advice tendered by the Chief Justice of India when he has fully considered—while disagreeing with—the views of the other two high constitutional functionaries; although his advice may be rejected by the Government for other valid reasons.

In conclusion, I would like to say a word regarding the so called 'confrontation' between the executive and the judiciary. Since the Courts are the trustees of the law and charged with duty of securing obedience to it, they have to stand high above the storms. They must necessarily judge the validity of other men's actions and act as a brake on other men's conduct. Wise men who are so judged and restrained yield with grace to the judicial process which is the only way devised by the wit of man to maintain the rule of law. Thick-skinned and thick-headed men in power regard such judgment and restraint as constituting a 'confrontation' between the judiciary on the one hand and the executive or the legislature on the other. Every time a judge vindicates the right of the citizen against repressive authority, he is only protecting the integrity of the Constitution.

—*Condensed by O. D. Sharma from three articles published in the Indian Express*

What we find today is the very anti-thesis of the noble spirit that animated the nation only a few decades ago. Why is it that this permissive attitude has over taken our society in the short span? Have we of the older generation set a wrong example to the country by our life and conduct?

—*N. Sanjiva Reddy*
President of India

The war made me understand

Ian Hooft Graft Land (Mrs.)

I was alone with a little child, six months old, in May 1940. I was very happily married but my husband was in the United States. Fate caused our separation for 5½ years. With the aid of the occupier I was offered a possibility to join my husband. I could not. Something stronger than personal comfort and expected happiness told me of my commitments to my fellow countrymen in distress. It was Gandhi who taught me the way to non-violence. I came to realize that I would never be able to kill.

In the war we were not free to think, speak and act as we wished. A foreign power tried to impose its will on us and it was fear, selfishness and self-preservation which made us comply with it. Everything in me spoke of resistance. I never once, ever, felt any hesitation at refusing to follow orders from the Germans. My life was dedicated to the care of all those of widely diverse background I had in hiding all along. I had no arms in my possession. But I was given the strength to meet the Germans time and again bare-handed and fearless. In the early spring of 1945 my house was raided twice by the Gestapo (secret police). As by a miracle they failed to lay their hands on me. But they robbed me of much that had been dear to me so far. Out of free will I was confronted with death almost daily. I had no fear but the fate of my little girl and my husband was a matter of great concern. And yet it was with me all the time—you must not kill !

Oh ! Mankind ! Do not kill !

It became clear to me in the years 1940—1945. Now in 1982 I know for certain. If peace is to come our way we shall have to refrain from making arms or even parts. For we, the people, as individuals as well as in masses, determine the world's destination.

Oh ! Mankind ! Do not kill !

In raising our voices only, nothing will be achieved. It is by our acts, our way of life that we will progress. Why then mass demonstrations, protests against nuclear arms ? Why discussion, objections to this devastating weapon only ? How many of us are actively involved in the making of arms at large while at the same time blaming the governments on the deployment ?

Oh ! Mankind !

There is free choice. Are we pretending a will to peace ? Out of fear, self-preservation, selfishness or may be for the sake of comfort and convenience ? And in doing so are we in fact backing power politics which never lead to peace, only to a delay of violence ?

Oh ! Mankind ! Oh ! Individuals ! Do not kill !

In Poland, in the East, in the Middle East and in the West. Resolutely convinced that passive resistance is the one and only way to true peace, true justice, a great opportunity and responsibility presents itself to all. During the war those who persevered did not kneel down to violence, power, injustice, corruption or intimidation. During the war public demonstrations, agitations, discussions were out of the question. Yet, during the war, as in Poland today and in many places elsewhere, man was free to think and act according to one's own conscience and conviction. Solidarity, the love of mankind, not restricted to any group or country, in an appeal to all peoples and in a readiness to make great sacrifices, this is the answer-now—to World Peace. In refusing to contribute in whatever way to the making of arms, in turning against corruption, in abstaining from any form of violence, man will become aware of the invincible magnitude of non-violence.

Oh ! Mankind ! Oh ! Individual ! Do not kill !

It is contained in every philosophy, in every religion. Jesus Christ taught the world to love mankind. He lived accordingly. Gandhi put it into practice. Has time come for us to understand that the answer lies—within ourselves ?

—Holland-January, 1982

Do We Want to Survive

Vimala Thakar

"Let alone democracy and socialism; the most important question is, can a nation without moral fibre survive ? It is not for the politicians alone to give the answer. It is for everyone of us"—Jayaprakash Narayan—The Radical Humanist, August 1972.

Nothing can make a people live when the very desire to live fades away from their minds. Nothing can make a people live when the very urge to live is eaten up from their minds. Nothing can help a people to survive as a people when there is no love of life and self-respect in their minds, individually as well as collectively. Looking at the trend of events in the country in recent weeks one wonders if the people of India really want to survive as a people at all, one wonders if they wish to exist as a political unity among other nations of the world, as a common, compact, economic unit among the galaxy of developing countries in Asia and Africa. One wonders if the people have an urge to retain their religious and cultural heritage at all.

The very moral fibre of social life and sense of integrity and responsibility in individual life are scorched, damaged and even destroyed in our lives. This is a challenge not only to the government of the country, the existing political parties and the public and private sectors in industry, but it is a challenge facing every one of us in every field of our activity. The country requires urgently a moral leadership, may I say a religious leadership. Religion for me, does not imply any organised or institutionalised denominations but it indicates the awareness of the mysterious totality surrounding us and a grass-roots grip upon particular relationships, challenges, problems of every day life. There is a moral and religious vacuum in the minds of the people. The motivation to earn a livelihood, to be employed or get married and have a family are not the prerogative of the human world. These are biological

instincts common to the animal kingdom with which we share many instincts and psycho-physical trends. These motivations help us to adjust our behaviour with that of the natural world around us but they do not give any sense of purpose and direction to human relationships. The biological urge to satisfy appetite, thirst, sexual urge or need for sleep become meaningful only when they are grounded in a sense of universal values and individual responsibilities and concern for one another.

The people living in this huge sub-continent have not only become callous, careless and casual in their life styles but they are losing the sacred concern for one another and affection for every living creature. Minds have become corrupt expressing the corruptness in every walk of life. Advance in technology and industrialisation is a must to our country. Population control is also a must for this country. Elimination of starvation and unemployment is a universally accepted must for us. Survival of parliamentary democracy could also be looked upon as one of the musts. But where will the country be, even if it becomes prosperous, if there is no moral fibre in our lives ? A morally sick or imbalanced people cannot enjoy affluence and prosperity. The young generation of affluent countries has been hammering this fact unto the Orientals since the last two decades. The high crime rate in U.S.A. or affluent Middle East, the high rate of mental sickness in technologically advanced and prosperous countries, are a significant warning not only to India but to all the developing countries of Asia and Africa.

The Parliament and the legislatures in various states of India are becoming a mockery of democratic institutions. The ritualism of elections gone through every few years at the state and the federal levels are getting reduced not only to a farce but literally to a tale told by an idiot meaning nothing. The very terms like, 'election', 'representation', 'legislation' and 'justice' are being deprived of their connotation. The structures of judiciary could get converted into theatres for enacting the drama of disbursing justice where the prompting would be done and justice be controlled by vested political and economic interests.

Education and educational institutions are in the most miserable plight that one could imagine. So I ask of my countrymen and of my self whether we are seriously interested in surviving as a people. If we are, the challenge will have to be met by us.

Betrayal of the Nation

J. S. Bindra Lt. Col. (Retd.)

"The journey is worth the making, even though the end may not be in sight". So wrote Jawahar Lal Nehru in the thirties, when India was struggling for independence. A few years later not only the end could be sighted, but, it was actually achieved. In 1947, free India was born though in the midst of unprecedented blood baths. The tragedy of the Partition that overwhelmed millions was somewhat mitigated by the feeling that we are now a free people, and the rest of our lives we will spend in the promised land of milk and honey.

Almost four decades later a bewildered and perplexed nation finds itself in an overpowering malaise, and, wonders what has gone wrong? Not only the present is depressing, but, there seems no bright spot on the horizon either. Did the people of India deserve this?

Churchill called Indian leaders men of straw, and predicted they would not be able to run the country. Gandhi, Patel and Nehru were certainly not men of straw; they had steel in them and proved it, though the crop of politicians who succeeded them can certainly qualify for that description.

Nehru, who was in the driving seat for nearly two decades, embarked on an ambitious programme of modernising a feudal-agricultural society through industrialisation, within the framework of a socialist economy. This signalled a departure from the Gandhian methods of effecting socio-economic change from the grassroots. Like many of his contemporaries at Cambridge during post World War I era, Nehru was enthralled by the intellectual appeal of Marxism. He was deeply impressed by the vitality with which the Soviet Society tackled its problems. Some years later, after his visit to Russia, he compared that country to

a young man marching with a resolute step, in contrast to Europe which seemed like a tired old man. It is interesting to note that Marxist philosophy had such a strong impact on some of the British intellectuals of that period, and, they got so deeply indoctrinated, that they went to the extent of spying for Soviet Russia against their own country !

In India, time bound planning for development was introduced by Nehru, somewhat on the Russian model—an experiment which had not yet been tried out in a democracy. The creation of the infrastructure for industrialising the country involved the investment of thousands of crores; this provided an opportunity for some of the people associated with these projects to make small fortunes on the side. Whenever Nehru's attention was drawn to the prevalence of corruption, he shrugged it off with the remark, "what does it matter if some persons make a few lakhs when the country gets a dam like Bhakra Nangal". He was a man in a hurry with a vision of building a strong modern country within his lifetime, and was inclined to overlook these minor aberrations. The dishonest politician and the bureaucrat got the idea that fortunes could be amassed with impunity. For men in high places, such acts were generally condoned ; even if brought to light, it meant just a transfer to another appointment but never chastisement. It is axiomatic that if people at the top are corrupt, the cancer will gradually spread to lower levels. Centuries of subjugation and deprivation had left its mark on the Indian psyche; acceptance of corruption as way of life corroded their character still further. The long range damaging consequences of this attitude of turning a blind eye to corruption were incalculable. It sapped the nation's already weakened fibre, and this is perhaps the root cause of most of the problems we are facing today.

India is rich in talent, resources and manpower. It is a matter of some surprise that crores of rupees have been sunk in various five year plans, and billions of dollars of foreign aid have been pumped in the country, but, it has scarcely made a dent in the plight of the poverty stricken masses. The politician, of course, has always an alibi for non-performance. He blames the opposition parties, foreign hand, C.I.A., communalists, or the bureaucracy. The events of the last few years have

however exposed the professional politician. He is a purchasable commodity, provided the right price is paid. Morality, ethics, principles, truthfulness, integrity are words unknown to him. His sole aim in life is to acquire power and stick to it, by any means. For him personal interest always takes precedence over national interest.

During Nehru era, we had a feeling of well being and progress (in middle fiftes we were told that we are in the take off stage), and, at times we even basked in an aura of greatness. This lasted till 1962. The year 1962 was a watershed in the history of independent India. The Sino-Indian war shattered most of our illusions. Suddenly we discovered we were friendless and vulnerable and not so great. The reputable Indian Army suffered many reverses. Basically it was political and not a military defeat. Subjective assessments of Chinese strength and intentions were made by our politicians, which in turn, were based on incorrect and insufficient intelligence coloured by wishful thinking. The writer, during this period, was closely associated with the collection and evaluation of military intelligence in the Intelligence Bureau, and has personal knowledge of the bungling that happened. The Director of Intelligence Bureau, Bhola Nath Mullick together with Krishna Menon, the then Defence Minister, both of whom enjoyed complete confidence of Nehru, gave him wrong advice, with the result that one wrong step followed another, and the army got involved in a fire brigade role. Troops from the plains of Punjab were flown into NEFA to fight at an altitude of 14000 ft without acclimatisation or snow clothing, and without knowledge of enemy strength and dispositions. Menon was also perhaps too eager to have another feather in his cap by taking credit for throwing out the Chinese, after his 'victory' in Goa. Earlier, Thimayya had been eased out of the army by Menon, Mullick, Kaul combine, and the morale of the officer cadre had also suffered by Kaul's policy of creating a caucus of sycophants personally loyal to him. If Menon had a less abrasive personality and could have got along with Thimayya, a gifted and highly popular general, perhaps there would have been no 1962 debacle, and the history of India would have shaped differently.

Nehru was a great man in every sense of the word; but essentially

he was a man of peace. He had no stomach for fighting. India, intsi chequered history has never fought a war in which every Indian was involved. Future historians will speculate, that if India had gone through a baptism of fire by fighting a full blooded war with China, instead of acquiescing in a face saving cease fire, perhaps a prouder, integrated nation could have emerged.

Nehru could not recover from the trauma of the chinese attack, and his health and morale declined from then onwards. After Nehru, the Congress party which was held together by his charismatic personality, splintered through internecine power struggle of lesser men, a power struggle which has plagued the country to this day.

A school of thought is now developing which seeks to attribute the present state of affairs in the country to the parliamentary from of government. It is mooted that the presidential form of government on the American or the French model will cure all our ills. Systems are an instrument to be used by human beings. What matters is the people who operate the system. A knife in the hands of a surgeon can give life by removing cancerous growth; the same knife in the hands of a murderer can kill a man. What we face in the country is not the failure of the system, but the failure of the people who run it.

The history of homo-sapiens has shown that man is central to all human activity. In the final analysis it is the individual who matters; everything else hinges on him. All our plans for the eradication of poverty are unlikely to succeed, unless the human agency responsible for implementing these plans undergoes a radical reorientation of values. What we need is a renaissance, of a sort of cultural revolution to change our thinking processes, value systems, attitudes and behaviour patterns. Such a transformation could perhaps generate a type of leadership which is anchored on, and derives strength from ethical and moral values as distinct from self regarding, parochial and manipulative politics. The national psyche is hungry for a return to an era of decency and morality in public life. How long will the nation have to wait ?

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The Sikhs will Defend and Uphold India's Honour

Balbir Singh Mann

The nauseous dichotomy about Sikh nationhood continues to vitiate the atmosphere in the country unchecked. Though the matter is serious and some credulous people are likely to be misled by this highly spurious propaganda, still the publicity given to it is out of proportion to the public support it enjoys.

The Congressmen of all hues are totally against it. The same is true of the Janata Party. The BJP—now it has some Sikhs among its ranks—has rejected this slogan outright. The CPI has condemned it unequivocally. The CPM does not support the idea but it says that the Akali Party has a just grievance against the ruling party for interfering in their religious affairs. Among various other Sikh denominations, the Namdharis disapprove of it and so do some Nihang Sikhs. Next, we come to the Radhaswamis and Nirankaris. They are wary of considering themselves as Sikh cults. The Akali Party is vehement in denying them this status, but their Sikh affiliation is an undeniable historical fact. More than that, in adult franchise they also have votes, and votes are votes. This is why in election times the Akali leaders never feel chary of courting them. As a matter of fact some most ardent Akali partisans owe their positions to the help of these sects. Both these sects do not subscribe to "Sikhs-are-a-Nation" theory.

As far as the Akali Party is concerned, it is their unfortunate and old habit, that whenever there is infighting among them there is a competition among their various factions to adopt obtuse and extremist postures. Partly this is a hangover of pre-partition communal politicking and is partly done in order to win public support.

This time they are doing so in the name of Anandpur Sahib Resolution and have added to it the leaven of some sort of U.N.O. recognition. No body knows what exactly Anandpur Sahib Resolution is. The knowledgeable people say that there is another version of it. Be it what it is, nobody can object to the principle of federalism and some more autonomy to the States, which are reputed to form part of that resolution. These are national questions. They are demanded by some other States and political parties also. But when they come from the Akali Party, the demands become suspect, because this party is constantly shifting its position. Moreover, added to this are other fantastic and unrealistic demands such as claim to far away Tarai in U.P. and U.N.O. membership status. The attitude of Longowal group towards it is ambivalent and that of Talwandi group is highly confusing.

It is in the fitness of things to examine what different Akali publicists and their sympathisers have to say about all this. Their main complaint is that the Congress did not let their Governments function in the Punjab during 1967, 1969 and 1979 for the full term of five years. Everybody knows that these governments fell due to their internal squabbles.

Sardar Lachhman Singh Gill was the hero of 1967 drama. In 1969 Sardar Gurnam Singh and Company voted against their own government. In 1979 the Akali leaders not only fell out among themselves but they also contributed to the fall of the Janata Government at the centre.

One Akali spokesman asserts that the idea of Sikh nation stands the test of nationhood historically, traditionally, culturally, religiously, socially, and territory which happens to be the most important consideration in formation of a nation should not be brought into consideration.

There is no doubt that Sikh history is heroic part of Indian history. It is one of the greatest sagas of martyrdom and sacrifice in the annals of humanity. It is a part of Indian history just as Samurai tradition is part of the Japanese history. No sensible Sikhs will deny the wisdom of the Vedas and the Buddha. This is a common heritage of all Indians including the Sikhs. How can one brush aside the good work done by Akbar the Great in India? And I have no hesitation in saying that only the foolish among us would close their eyes to the constructive aspect

of British rule in our recent past. All this and much else is Indian history and proper study of history is history of a society and not merely of this or that community.

H.G. Wells has very aptly said that the people of India are a community of communities. Moreover, the Sikhs were meant and are recognised as a distinct community. But it is agreed by all objective observers that the Sikh religion is the continuation of profound Indian religious thought. It is different from other sects and persuasions prevalent in India. Hinduism is said to be a mansion of many a pavilion. It is part of the main stream of Indian religious thought and philosophy. One of the most celebrated intellectuals among the Sikhs avers that four basic concepts of Hinduism that is, the doctrines of Karma, transmigration of soul, Dharma and Maya were accepted by the Sikh Gurus. As a matter of fact Hinduism provided Sikhism with its warp and woof. The design is also Hinduistic-Islam contributed the flavour of egalitarianism to Sikhism. The idea of equality in Sikhism is definitely derived from Islam. Arnold Toynbee, one of the greatest historians of all times, says that the Sikhs are virtually a caste of Hindus and we may add that the Sikhs are that caste of the Hindus which believes in castelessness. In view of all this, it does not seem appropriate to say that the Sikhs are a nation on account of their religion.

It is crystal clear that the current controversy is a crazy attempt aimed at political exploitation. Added to it is naivety on the part of some foreign powers, who think that they can destabilize situation in India through these tactics. They are in for disappointment. They have placed their eggs in a wrong basket. There can be some individuals among the Sikhs who are available for such nasty undertakings. The Sikhs may and do fight for many a cause, some wrong and mostly right ones in the country. But when the chips are down and the interests of the country are in danger, the whole of India is the country—very much their own. The Sikhs will be in the forefront to defend and uphold India's honour.

—Grateful acknowledgements : Sarvodaya Press Service

Lions Code of Ethics

1. To show my faith in the worthiness of my vocation by industrious application to the end that I may merit a reputation for quality of service.
2. To seek success and to demand all fair remuneration or profit as my just due, but to accept no profit or success at the price of my own self-respect lost because of unfair advantage taken or because of questionable acts on my part.
3. To remember that in building up my business it is not necessary to tear down another's; to be loyal to my clients or customers and true to myself.
4. Whenever a doubt arises to the right or ethics of my position or action towards my fellow men, to resolve such doubt against myself.
5. To hold friendship as an end and not a means. To hold that true friendship exists not on account of the service performed by one to another, but that true friendship demands nothing but accepts service in the spirit in which it is given.
6. Always bear in mind my obligations as a citizen to my nation, my state and my community, and to give them my unswerving loyalty in word, act and deed. To give them freely of my time, labour and means.
7. To aid my fellow men by giving my sympathy to those in distress, my aid to the weak, and my substance to the needy.
8. To be careful with my criticism and liberal with my praise, to build up and not to destroy.

Non Party Constructive Workers Convention

NEWS LETTER

Social Work & Research Centre TILONIA, AJMER (Rajasthan)

The Social Work and Research Centre (SWRC), a voluntary organisation, got its start in 1972 in backward rural sub-division of Ajmer District in Rajasthan. The results achieved by SWRC during the first five years of its operation in the field of its rural development efforts which involve water development and irrigation, agriculture, community health, rural industry and education are briefly stated herein, as it is felt that these could give useful guidelines to voluntary organisations engaged on similar projects of rural uplift elsewhere.

(a) Community Health Programme

A dispensary at Tilonia and its sub-dispensary at Chota Naraina involved long distances for the villagers and the cost of medicines, even though heavily subsidised, was prohibitive for the poor of the area. To provide basic health care at the villagers door-step in SILORA BLOCK, SWRC devised the strategy of constituting a health team consisting of a doctor, a social worker, two or three auxiliary nurse midwives, a compounder and two or three field assistants trained in health care to work in cooperation with an expanding number of village level health workers. The villagers willingly participated in the scheme by contributing towards salary of its health worker, who would take care of simple medication whereas more difficult cases were to be dealt with in the dispensary.

(b) Water Development and Agricultural Programme

In this field, SWRC's four objectives were to assess water potential of the area, to lay the basis for rural electrification programme, to develop a technical solution to water-percolation problem and to assist individual farmers to develop and improve their own water supply.

On the basis of a survey carried out by the Rajasthan State, Silora Block had enough potential water supply and SWRC programmed digging of new wells and sinking tube wells, and also deepening the existing wells.

The agriculture team consisting of one or two agricultural graduates and two local assistants worked closely with State Agricultural Services, the water-development team and community health programme. This coordination multiplied the effectiveness of their combined efforts. At the SWRC campus experiments were also conducted with new varieties of wheat, vegetables and other crops, and for the benefit of small farmers from the surrounding villages, extension education camps were conducted.

(c) Rural Industries Programme

In the villages, the weavers, the leather workers, the block printers and others, had learnt their traditional caste occupations and crafts from childhood, but unfavourable market conditions, lack of funds and materials forced them to give up these occupations in favour of new jobs in towns, or to work as agricultural and construction labour. The traditional tanning and leather work suffered because of lack of tanning technique and leather from outside markets was expensive.

SWRC revitalised the traditional crafts and rural industries so as to generate new employment potential and increased income in order to improve the lot of these disadvantaged groups and especially their women folk.

(d) Women's Crafts Programme

Possibilities of adding economic incentives through crafts and

tailoring were explored. Classes were conducted which also included social education and literacy lessons. By 1977, 200 women of all ages had been enrolled in Tilonia programme. Effective marketing mechanism was provided through recognised organisations e.g., All India Handicrafts Board and also in city markets.

(e) Education Programme

The education programme initially concentrated on following conventional pattern such as adult literacy classes, social education classes for women and balwadis for pre-school children, but subsequent projects became more innovative. For instance, literacy has come to have greater meaning for women "producers" at the craft centre since they started earning money and got exposed to marketing mechanism, prices, new designs, etc.

(Condensed by O. D. Sharma from SWRC Report)

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Without Comment

Why is milk so dear these days ? Why from two to four annas a seer in the early forties have milk prices shot up twenty times now ?

Vice-President Hidayatullah has the answer.

Previously, he told the 21st Convocation of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute (IARI) here today, the mother used to milk the cows, the girls used to set the milk out in pans in order to bring the cream to the top. and one of the boys used to sell it, carrying it to the customers in a handcart.

Now, however, "the Department of Agriculture is mobilised, the cowsheds are sterilised, the cows are immunised, the milk is homogenised. the supplies are motorised, the dairies are organised, the milkmen are unionised, the milk product exports are subsidised the political leaders are energised and the result is that the Indian consumer is victimised." the Vice President observed.

—Hindustan Times

Small hearts and large republics go ill together.

—Nani A. Palkhivala

In any event, howsoever pious be the thought behind those allocations, it cannot be a balancing or a redeeming factor for the Chief Minister (Mr. Antulay) ordering allotments on the builders, applications, not by the rule of the law, but by the rule of thumb.

—Mr. Justice B. Lentin.

Corruption has come to stay.

—Mr. Pranab Mukerjee.

Morarjibhai had insisted on keeping son Kantibhai with himself when he was P.M. to look after him. But now that he is not P.M. the son no longer accompanies him. Does he not need to be looked after now ?

—Acharya Kripalani,

ROLL OF HONOUR

(Contd. from the last Issue)

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35. Shri Triyogi Narain Varma
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36. Shri Jogendra Prasad Sinha
C/o. S.K. Sinha, J. Manager
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38. Shri A.S. Chadha
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53. Sh. Yudhvair Mehra
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It is a time to remind yourself that "saints are sinners who keep on trying "

It is a time to toss old hatreds, resentments, grudges and fears into the wastebasket of life; a time to forgive and forget, a time to stretch your soul.

It is a time to list the things you have left undone and to do something about them : the visits you've failed to make, the words unspoken, the letters unwritten, the tasks unfinished.

It is a time to dust off your dreams and shine up your ideals.

It is a time to browse through the precious old books that have meant the most to you that you may rediscover illuminating phrases and sentences to light your pathway into the future.

It is a time to give thanks to God, and to man, for the riches that have been poured into your life; a time to appreciate anew the beauty and wonder of the world.

It is a time to rededicate your life to those things which are enduring, recognizing with William James that "the great use of life is to spend it on something that will outlast it."

It is a time to resolve to add life to your years, for as Philip James Bailey points out, "he most lives who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

—Wilferd A. Peterson

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The AWAKENING

God offers to every mind its choice between truth and repose. Take which you please; you can never have both. Between these, as a pendulum, man oscillates. He in whom the love of repose predominates will accept the first creed, the first philosophy, the first political party he meets, most likely his father's. He gets rest, commodity, and reputation; but he shuts the door of truth. He in whom the love of truth predominates will keep himself aloof from all moorings, and afloat. He will abstain from dogmatism, and recognise all the opposite negations between which, as walls, his being is swung. He submits to the inconveniences of suspense and imperfect opinion, but he is a candidate for truth, as the other is not, and respects the highest law of his being.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

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The AWAKENING

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LET MY COUNTRY AWAKE

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habit
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought
and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—*Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941)*

The Awakening

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I am in earnest, I will not equivocate; I will not excuse, I will not retreat an inch—
and I will be heard.

—William Lloyd Garrison

Letter from the Editor

New Delhi

March 18, 1982

Dear Reader,

May I share with you an important Statement issued by the Citizens Committee regarding Satyagraha against Political Corruption, which I trust you will find self-explanatory—

“The Citizens Action Committee (constituted by Delhi units of five non-party, non-power seeking organisations of voluntary workers viz : Lok Sevak Sangh, Hindustani Andolan, Voters Council, Citizens for Democracy & People's Union for Civil Liberties) is constrained to announce the commencement of silent Satyagraha against Political corruption, with effect from 23rd March 1982, the day of Shaheed Bhagat Singh's martyrdom.

2. The Citizens Committee, distressed and appalled at the decline of moral standards in the public life of the Nation and having failed to elicit any concrete and positive response from the political leadership of the country to the citizens demands, has no other alternative but to follow the lead given by the Father of the Nation and, as responsible citizens, do their duty by the country.

3. Soon after its formation, the Citizens Committee wrote to the heads of major political parties on 23rd October 1981 seeking their acceptance, in principle, to the five specific demands formulated in order to stem the tide of political corruption, as summarised below :—

- (i) enactment of an anti-defection law and, pending such enactment, acceptance of a Code of Honour whereby no political party shall induce, accept or reward the defection of any legislator elected on another party's ticket ;

- (ii) appointment of a Lokpal at the Centre ;
- (iii) political parties to submit their accounts to Government audit
- (iv) political leaders to declare their assets annually and publicly and
- (v) money power in elections to be curbed, by State financing elections if necessary.

4. The Citizens Committee followed up these demands by meeting as many heads of political parties as responded to our appeal and also sought the moral support for its campaign from all Members of Parliament irrespective of Party affiliation. While the Janata party, B.J.P., Lok Dal and CPI have conveyed their support in principle, for the Committee's demands, there has been no response from the Ruling party in spite of a reminder sent to its President, Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

5. All the foregoing correspondence with political parties, along with the Committee's letter addressed to Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Jagannath Kaushal, Law Minister, as also the names of the 44 Members of Parliament (24 from Lok Sabha and 22 from Rajya Sabha) who have been kind enough to convey their moral support, is hereby released to the Press.

6. The Citizens Committee strongly feels that it would be impossible to control the mounting corruption in business, administration and even education, unless it is first eradicated from politics and from the centres of power and authority. Moreover, unless the Ruling party agrees to the above demands, there is no hope of necessary legislation to be enacted in Parliament. While the Prime Minister is silent to the pleas of the Citizens Committee, the Law Minister is absolutely non-committal as to when the Cabinet Panel on Electoral Reforms will complete its labours and whether our demand for anti-defection legislation and appointment of Lokpal is at all under the active consideration of the Central Government. On the contrary the Citizens Committee has noted with regret that some of the Congress (I) M. Ps in the Rajya Sabha voted against the private member's bill regarding declaration of

assets by Ministers, M.Ps etc. as brought forward by Shri Sadashiv Bagaitkar.

7. The Satyagraha is therefore addressed to the conscience of all political leaders in general and those of the ruling party in particular and is our appeal to them in anguish, to return to the path of moral rectitude and honesty and integrity in the conduct of National affairs.

8. The Satyagraha shall be conducted in the best Gandhian tradition i.e. without any fuss or fanfare, without any hatred and ill-will and without any desire for name, position or personal publicity. Truth and non-violence will be the sheet-anchor of the non-party citizens campaign for clean politics.

9. The venue of the silent Satyagraha, to begin with, shall be at hexagon-Rajpath crossing, about 150 metres from India Gate, New Delhi. There shall be no loud-speakers, no obstruction to traffic and no violation of any law. In order to ensure that party politics does not vitiate the Satyagraha, only those citizens shall take part in it who are not members of any political party. The citizens who are members of political parties are requested to convey their moral support by dropping us a post card and, if residing in Delhi, to kindly come to the venue of Satyagraha and sign the Visitors Book in token of their moral support, and also to prevail on the Heads of their respective parties and their party legislators to concede the five demands of the Citizens so that continuation of Satyagraha may not be necessary.

10. The Satyagraha (while its outer form and venue may change from time to time) shall continue till the afore-said five demands are conceded in principle by the national political parties either by giving an assurance in Parliament for enacting necessary legislation or/and by adopting a suitable Code of Honour, to give effect to the substance of these demands.

11. The Citizens Committee, while claiming no moral superiority of any kind and absolutely disclaiming any holier-than-thou attitude,

humbly appeals to all fellow citizens to lend their active support and participation in the Campaign for Clean Politics, so that the coming generations of India may never say that we let them down.

For CITIZENS ACTION COMMITTEE
FOR CLEAN POLITICS

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| 1. Sevakram, | <i>Chairman</i> | |
| 2. S.D. Sharma | } <i>Lok Sevak Sangh</i> | |
| 3. H.R. Batra | | |
| 4. A.L. Saigal | } <i>Hindustani Andolan</i> | |
| 5. R.B. Singh | | |
| 6. J.S. Bindra | } <i>Voters Council</i> | |
| 7. N.S. Kochhar | | |
| 8. N.D. Pancholi | <i>Citizens for Democracy</i> | |
| 9. Inder Mohan | } <i>Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties</i> | |
| 10. Balraj Kumar | | |
| 11. I. Vishnu Rao | } <i>Co-opted</i> | |
| 12. K.N. Bahl | | |
| 13. Ragini Maheshwari (Mrs) | | |

And so, dear Reader, the citizens battle against corruption begins with effect from March 23, 1982. In this battle, there shall be neither retreat nor surrender. Your moral support and active participation will be a source of strength and inspiration.

Yours truthfully,
S. D. Sharma

To All Mothers

Ryoichi Sasakawa

Let's not send our irreplaceable children to the battlefield. Now is the time for all mothers of the world to unite in a drive against military armaments.

Recently, many countries of the world have moved to increase their armaments rather than moving towards disarmament.

This trend, should it continue unchecked, will make it difficult to avoid a third world war which may spell the destruction of mankind. I am deeply worried by this possibility.

After World War II, I was incarcerated for 3 years and 14 days as a "Class A" war crime suspect in Sugamo Prison in Tokyo. During my imprisonment, some 35 years ago, I submitted a plea to General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, as well as to U.S. President Harry Truman. In it, I revealed my willingness to sacrifice my own life if necessary in order to eradicate war and save mankind from its horrors.

From that time on, I have practiced the principles of the universal brotherhood of mankind in the belief that "the world is one family, all people are brothers and sisters". Today I continue to call for total disarmament, and for the creation of a lasting peace which transcends politics, economics, philosophies, religious beliefs, race and national boundaries.

Wars produce a thousand evils, and no good. To end them and to establish a lasting peace requires more than a mere reduction of nuclear

warheads or conventional weapons. An absolute prerequisite for permanent peace is total disarmament. Countries opposed to disarmament are enemies of peace. And as these countries pose a threat to all mankind, other nations of the world must join in solidarity to blockade them economically. If this can be done, these countries will be forced to end their intransigence, no matter how powerful they may be.

Today, the world's annual military expenditures exceed \$550 billion. If total disarmament is achieved, this money can be reallocated to further the welfare of mankind. Precious lives will not be lost, and natural resources will not be wasted.

With these things in mind, I am appealing to the mothers of the world to join forces to establish "Mothers for Peace" organizations dedicated to ending war and to furthering the movement to abolish military armaments.

There is no woman, regardless of her nationality, who bears and raises her children so that they may die on the battlefield. Rather, they carry their children, give birth to them, and would sacrifice themselves to protect them from harm.

I appeal to all mothers from the bottom of my heart to support and cooperate with this initiative to abolish all armaments which might otherwise take the lives of their children in wars.

If you agree with these sentiments, regardless of whether you're a woman or a man, I'd like to hear your opinion concerning this problem, which concerns us all. Please send me a postcard or letter, and please include your name, address, occupation and age.

*Office of the Committee of Mothers for Peace
Blue Sea and Green Land Foundation
P.O. Box 16, Fukagawa Post Office
Tokyo 135-91, Japan*

Vish Kanya

Madhu Mehta

The system is now full of poison. It has taken nearly thirtyfive years to thoroughly poison the body, mind, spirit and soul of India. The signs are clear and visible to all those who care to observe what is going on outside the realm of their daily routine efforts to survive and thrive in today's India.

There are some who are not prepared to accept the fact that the only cure for such an advanced stage of cancer is the death of the patient. They still talk about the inevitable triumph of the "collective wisdom" of our people and cite examples of how bright and talented young engineers, scientists, doctors, and management experts have achieved fame and results abroad and in India respectively, and how the plucky farmers of Punjab, Gujarat and Haryana and the inventive genius of self-made industrialists of Ludhiana is changing the agricultural and industrial scene of India, inspite of the obstacles.

This is the limit of their discovery (or observation). They are not prepared to probe further. The extra effort required is just beyond them—they are tired and frustrated and afraid of losing their self respect, just in case they have to see the ugly consequences of all their imported beliefs, which they have been flaunting all these years secured in the comfortable surroundings of their offices and homes.

It is no use quarrelling with them today. We just do not have the time. Now is the time for all those who felt all these years smug and confident enough to face any challenge posed by a corrupt society, but who no longer feel that confident to meet the new challenges, to dis-

cover the ugliness and seriousness of the situation.

In a way, I think, a process of discovery has begun, though the pace is slow. I meet businessmen who took pride in their capacity to buy anyone among politicians and bureaucrats and who used to boast that "if these dogs were to double-cross us we can expose them by producing irrefutable evidence in the court". They are no longer confident of getting any justice now. Quite a few of them have helped the ruling party and the opposition in their good and bad times. Now they confide to me and tell me, "We have tested all of them. There was a quid-pro-quo arrangement which worked rather well for many years. Now it is just a one way traffic. We are afraid. We are at the receiving end from all sides. We cannot expose them even if we have all the evidence. The judiciary is in their pockets". The story is the same, whether the location is Malabar Hill of Bombay, Hazratganj of Lucknow or the bazars of Bagpat. The faith of people in judiciary is fast getting eroded.

Let us proceed and discover some more about the ridiculous aspect of the situation. One hears and reads about the NORTH-SOUTH DIALOUGE—at the level of the world. We read and hear about guns vs. bread and butter controversy. Our Prime Minister's voice from Sophia (Bulgaria) comes to us and we hear her expressing grave concern about the dangers of arms race in Asia. Yet we refuse to consider signing the no-war pact with our neighbour Pakistan and go on ordering thousands of crores of rupees worth of Jaguars and Mirages. All this is taking place in the name of India's security in the land of Buddha and Gandhi.

Some politicians and people who met me at a dinner in Lucknow suggested that India should now attack Pakistan and destroy its nuclear installations before it gets more powerful. They pointed at the example of Israel. I have started hearing this kind of loose talk in the cocktail circuits of Delhi and Bombay indulged in by people who are supposed to be responsible and close to the 'Inner Circle'. I talk about the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and I refer to the state of poverty and

corruption at home. I am snubbed. I am told, "America will never let India go communist, but now we must teach America a lesson with the help of Russia." God save us from this brave knowledgeable intellectual close to the "Inner Circle".

In Bombay people are angry with the rude behaviour of BEST conductors and drivers. Hundreds of them write to me and tell me that they are prepared to face any consequences, but the BEST management should not succumb to the blackmail of the trade union leaders. A friend of mine is the Works Manager of a factory situated in Thane-Belapur Industrial complex near Bombay. Recently he was gheraoed by over 200 women worker of his factory. They nearly stripped him naked and in the process, my friend acquired a fairly good knowledge of the choicest galis hurled at him by these aggressive females. Industrialists put all the blame on George Fernandes and Datta Samant for all the labour problems. Managers and technocrats do the same. I try my best to point out to them that the root cause of this state of affairs is not to be found so much in the policies of George and Samant, but in our wrong priorities —no investment in man, no proper education and that we are becoming rootless. Two industrialists with whom I was talking, flared up and one of them said, "if only our tribe had more guts, we could take care of these two rogues" and then proceeded to describe me as a mad idealist.

On my last visit to U.P. a fortnight ago, I discovered something more. There are over 300-400 young boys between the age group of 13-17 who are languishing behind bars in a jail. They were caught by the police for petty offences, but instead of being tried and sent to remand homes, their ages, I am reliably informed, have been enhanced and they have been lodged in the central jail in one of the most well-known commercial cities of U.P. Every one or two months they are taken out and produced before the magistrate who is prepared to release them on bail ranging from Rs. 2000-3000—a tall order which can never be complied with by these boys and are sent back in the jail. No trial, Nothing happens. They are just kept there, again, I am very reliably informed, to satisfy the perverse sexual lust of hardened criminals lodged

in the jail. When contacted by one of my colleagues a jail official told him frankly, "what do you expect us to do? These young bastards act as our protective shield. If they are not there, we too can be raped". Today almost all these boys are suffering from the worst kind of venereal diseases. Nobody bothers. Nobody cares.

One more discovery. Twenty three workers of our Andolan interviewed 727 house-wives living in slums near Kanpur and Lucknow. They have asked only one question. "What do you want most from your husband?". Over 90% said, "he should not beat us after getting drunk" and the others talked about roti, kapda and makan. No one talked about love and affection. They have never experienced love nor got affection from anyone. What they do not know they do not expect. What they do not have they cannot give to anyone.

There are crores of children and young men and women who have grown up in surroundings which only help them to acquire all criminal instincts. They do not receive normal education. Over 80% of primary schools in states like U.P. and Bihar have no furniture and most of them do not even have a blackboard in the classroom. In U.P. alone over one crore of children are supposed to be getting educated in these schools. Over 60% of these students suffer from malnutrition. Over 50% of them drop out of their schools after four or five years and 70% of them leave school after seventh or eighth standard. The average attendance in a class of 40 to 50 is 30% maximum. In many cases it is at times as low as 5%. A primary teacher in U.P. gets a royal allowance of Re. 1 per month for meeting recurring expenditure of conducting the class.

This is our investment in man. There are crores of children who have been educated in such schools in the country. They will become our policemen. They may join army. Quite a few of them will become drivers of rickshaws, scooters, taxis and trucks and many of them may find themselves becoming industrial workers. Most of our bus conductors and drivers come from this class. Most of our policemen also come from this class. This number is growing every day. They are divided into hundreds of groups. Anyone who is the leader of this

group becomes useful to our politicians for vote getting and booth grabbing. Some of these group leaders have joined politics and have succeeded in becoming MLAs and a few of them have even become MPs. This is the class that will dominate Indian political scene in a few years from today.

The answer is not for the industrialists to teach a lesson to George or Samant, but to try and attempt to discover what hell has been created by a system which they have been supporting with their white and black money.

It is this system which has created this monster of crores of men and women living in slums and sky scrappers, who have no roots. Nothing inspires them and nothing stirs them. They are lonely and angry. Their heroes are the celluloid heroes. Thanks to our thick skinned politicians and bureaucrats, they are convinced that violence is the only effective means to get what they want. They are at war with themselves and with everybody else. Their number is growing. When I talk of this system I am not complaining against the system of parliamentary democracy or against the federal system. I am talking about the horrible social consequences of bogus socialist policies in the name of garibi hatao followed and applauded by all political parties, which have poisoned the system. It has given birth to nothing else but a Control, Licence, Permit and Quota Raj, which in turn has given enormous political and economic power in the hands of politicians who are using their power not to serve the people but to enrich themselves at the expense of the people. These policies have thoroughly poisoned our entire political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual life of India.

It is inevitable that the present system will die—may be in six months or in six years. It is inevitable that we will have to pay a very heavy penalty for our collective folly in foolishly tolerating the antics of slogan mongering politicians who are ruining India. Now things have gone beyond their control. Neither Mrs. Gandhi nor any party can help control the situation for none of them is even aware of what is happening outside their world. They have been embraced and kissed by the VISH

KANYA of socialism which has given them too much power, too much money and too much comfort, and has robbed them of their capacity to digest this power. They have become sick and they have succeeded in making the entire nation sick in the bargain. They will be destroyed eventually. But India has to go on. Dharma has to triumph over Adharma. The longer we take in identifying our enemy, the longer will be our suffering. Our enemy is this **Vish Kanya**, which has created an Adharma Raj. It is now our dharma to attack adharma with a view to establish the rule of Dharma in India.

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Cases Against Chief Ministers

Kuldip Nayar

There is a Department of Personnel in the Home Ministry which processes allegations against Chief Ministers. Under the code of conduct for Ministers, before taking the oath of office they have to disclose to the Prime Minister their own assets and those of their family members. The department is now in the midst of processing allegations against the Chief Ministers of Bihar, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh.

Mrs. Gandhi has sent the memorandum of allegations to the department; it does not process anything directly. In fact the department does not know of all the charges that reach the Prime Minister's office. Many a time communications are disposed of by the Prime Minister's office without informing the department. It is apparent that when allegations have been referred to it, there is real substance in them, or the Prime Minister does not want to take the responsibility of clearing the Chief Ministers concerned.

Six cases from Bihar have been referred to the Personnel Department, three of them against the Chief Minister, Dr. Jagannath Mishra. One case is about the illegal occupation of Mr. P. Kejriwel's house at Muzaffarpur. The comments of Dr. Mishra were obtained, and "satisfied" with them the department has closed the case.

Worth Pursuing

Similarly, allegation of favouritism, nepotism and acceptance of bribes, made in a letter by Mr. Jadunandan Prasad of Patna to Mrs. Gandhi, have not been found worth pursuing after Dr. Mishra's explanations. The only case which is awaiting his reply is that of

"acceptance of a bribe" from a State Government officer for his posting. This allegation was made by a Bihar M.L.A., Mr. Gyan Ranjan.

Under the code of conduct, charges against Ministers in the State are dealt with by the Chief Ministers. Therefore, allegations of corruption against Bihar's Food Minister, Mr. Shankar Dyal Singh, on the basis of a letter by Mr. Shiv Prasad Sahu, M.P., have been referred to the Chief Minister. The same procedure has been adopted on an anonymous complaint to the C.B.I. against the Excise Minister, Mr. Karam Chand Bhagat.

There are three cases against the Haryana Chief Minister. Mr. Bhajan Lal. One alleging favouritism has been filed without any enquiry. The other two regarding "corruption" behind the liquor deaths in Haryana, as alleged by Mr. Moolchand Jain, a Lok Dal M.L.A., and harassment are yet to be disposed of. In the first case the Chief Minister's comments have been received and in the second they are awaited. But nothing will come out of them because of pressure working behind the scenes.

Government Loans

There is also an allegation against the Haryana Revenue Minister, Mr. Sher Singh, that he sanctioned and disbursed Government loans to his men. This case has been sent to the Chief Minister "for appropriate action". A complaint by Mr. Mani Ram Bagri, M.P., against the Haryana Home Minister, Mr. K.L. Poswal, of "immoral behaviour" has been filed without any enquiry.

A memorandum submitted to the President against Mr. Arjun Singh, the Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister, by Mr. Sunder Lal Patwa, the Opposition Leader in the Assembly, alleging corruption and misuse of power is pending. The Home Minister has asked for the comments of the Chief Minister. The other case relating to Mr. Surendra Bhurelia, a former M.L.A., making "two deals" with Mr. Arjun Singh, were filed on the plea that "the allegations did not relate to corrupt or illegal practice".

Mr. V.C. Shukla has forwarded allegations by Mr. Vishnudeo Shastri, former General Secretary of the Youth Congress, Rajgarh, that Mr. Bhanwar Singh Porte and Mr. Digvijay Singh, Ministers in the State, accepted "bribes" and encouraged "antisocial elements". But the Home Ministry has merely forwarded the complaint to the Chief Minister for disposal. Even the formality of asking the State Government to inform the Centre about the action taken has not been observed. Similarly a letter by an Orissa M.L.A. to the Prime Minister against Mr. Habibullah Khan, Minister of State for Agriculture, has been forwarded to the Chief Minister without comments.

For reasons best known to Mrs. Gandhi, a memorandum containing allegations of corruption from seven Karnataka M.L.A.s against the State Chief Minister, Mr. R. Gundu Rao and other Ministers has been withheld by the Prime Minister's office. This is a departure from procedure because it is the Home Ministry which processes such memoranda.

An allegation of rape made by Mr. M. Raghupathi, a Karnataka M.L.A., against Mr. C.M. Ibrahim, the Karnataka Minister for Planning (who has since resigned), has been filed after obtaining a report from the Intelligence Bureau.

The Prime Minister's office has not received any charges of corruption against the Chief Minister of Orissa although Mrs. Gandhi told newsmen that allegations had appeared in the press. This means that there is no suo moto consideration of the charges. That was given as the reason for not holding an enquiry against the then Maharashtra Chief Minister, Mr. A.R. Antulay. What appears in the press is not relevant. Unless a written complaint is made, no enquiry is considered by the Prime Minister's office, which is authorised to reject a written charge on the ground that it is "vague or frivolous".

Perfunctory

But even when there is an enquiry it is only perfunctory. The Department of Personnel studies the allegations and goes by the material provided by the State Governments to rebut the allegations. The entire

work is on file. There is no independent enquiry nor is any police assistance sought. And the Home Minister has the last word.

The Home Ministry makes no secret of the fact that the enquiries suffer from many deficiencies. Only when the Prime Minister wants a Chief Minister or Minister to quit is the case referred to the C.B.I. Otherwise the whole thing is only a formality.

This is a strange way of dealing with charges of bribery or misuse of power by the people occupying high positions in the public life. At one time the Centre was keen to constitute an ombudsman to look into allegations of corruption against Ministers and Chief Ministers. Even the Prime Minister was to be within the purview of the ombudsman. But when the necessary bill was drafted the Prime Minister was kept out. The Chief Ministers also wanted to stay away from the reach of the ombudsman. So the bill had to be scrapped. The Centre does not even talk about it now.

Declaring Assets

A bill making it obligatory for M.P.s to declare their assets and business interests has been similarly dropped. The Janata Government decided to introduce such a measure in Parliament in November, 1971, but put it off under pressure from affluent M.P.s in the party. The Congress (I) Government, however, allowed the bill to die.

But whether it is the Janata or the Congress (I), the attitude towards making public disclosure of assets not only of Ministers but also of all other elected representatives has been the same. "It has been the practice to treat such returns as confidential", as the Home Ministry puts it. Persistent public demands to know what the Ministers declare annually under the code of conduct have been of no avail.

And now Mrs. Gandhi has a different yardstick to measure ministerial corruption. If a Chief Minister or a Minister is useful to her, no allegation, however serious in nature, can endanger him. There are very few Congress (I) Ministers either at the Centre or in the States who are above the taint of corruption. Two-thirds of them have one allegation or the other pending against them. But what can poor Mrs. Gandhi do when corruption is a world phenomenon? —*Courtesy: The Tribune*

Call to Students

Vimala Thakar

(First Talk to students by Vimalaji at Madan Mohan Malaviya Degree College Bhatparani on 9th February, 1982.)

Who is a student? He is a student in whose life learning never comes to an end. He is a student who does not get stuck at any level, who is not beaten by failures or put to sleep by past successes, and who does not get lost in future dreams, but who looks and lives in the present with full attention.

When you look at life at the world, how do you see it? In order to understand life in its totality one has to look at it from all sides, from the universal, the national and regional levels. On the universal level what do we see? We see that all the world over the old methods of living are being swept away. There is a search now for a new direction for new ways. The youngsters in the West are dissatisfied with their life style, inspite of the high standard of living and the immense prosperity they enjoy. Life there revolves around the machines and has become de-personalised and de-humanised. The youth have realised there is a deficiency in their lives and are searching for a way out. Secondly man had felt in the past that anything could be achieved and attained through the power of money and arms. But now he has realised that even these two powers are not enough. They are insufficient to bring about any real change. Thirdly man had great faith in the power of thought. He felt that through indoctrination people could be changed, but even that has failed. Indoctrination was not able to change the deep conditionings of the human mind in which are

the roots of exploitation and greed. So now the question arises "Is there an energy beyond the mind, through which change can take place in the fundamental nature of man?" Through their enquiry, through their research mankind is turning more and more to the science of yoga, to answer the question.

On the national level what do we see? On the national level we are faced with two problems, that even after 35 years we have not found a way of being free of poverty and unemployment. Gandhi had shown us the way with his ideas of Khadi and cottage industries but unfortunately the country slid off the path in its impatience to become industrialised. But the approach that has been accepted in the last 35 years has shown us that industrialisation attendant with the begging bowl attitude has not been able to remove the roots of hunger, unemployment and poverty from our country. Another Saint came to show the way. Vinobaji through the Bhoodan movement tried to present to the people the dream of villagisation of land. He offered a middle course—not state or individual ownership but ownership of land by the village. But because of the demands it made on us to change our life style we did not accept his way. If it had been accepted after Marx, after Mao, a unique revolution would have taken place.

The other problem facing us on the national level is that of culture. The essence of Indian culture is in the faith that man is not only made of flesh and blood but his body is the abode of the Divine. Social circumstances should facilitate the expression of that Divinity within, human relationships should provide an opportunity to express that Divinity. But that has not happened. Today there is not the sanction of society behind the basic values of life. Today the sanction of society is on being successful even if it involves corruption, cheating, telling lies. This is a turning about of moral values. And the question before us is how do we once more bring about a respect and acceptance of the basic moral and human values in this country.

These are the necessities of the human race. But do we know what it means to be a human being? In man is self-consciousness. The point

of discrimination from other species is that he knows what he is doing. The consciousness is multi-directional and multi-dimensional. And it is only a self-conscious creature that can become a responsible individual. But first we have to become human beings, which means the energies that are available to us we have to make full use of them and it means when we know that something is wrong then we do not do it. It means living by our understanding.

So the question before us is, how will we remove poverty, unemployment and keep alive the basic human values. These are the questions we will have to face once we leave school and become citizens of the country.

On the regional level what do we see? We see that the 6 lakh villages in India are not fit places for people to live in. There is no cleanliness and there is no drinking water; how will people live in such villages? Much work needs to be done in the villages. Let us, the youth of India decide to work to build up our own villages, the village in which we were born so that this will be a fit place for others to live in. If this desire does not arise in the hearts of the youth of the country, what will happen to the future of the country?

The other work that needs to be done in the villages is to teach the villagers that all religions are one. For there are divisions being created in the villages on the basis of religion, caste, class, language etc. The villages are now breaking up due to the splits being nurtured in the people through the new minority consciousness. Until now there was economic exploitation, and while we were trying to find a way out of it efforts have now started to break up the unity of the villages as well. We have to decide to work and make efforts to see that the unity of the village will not break up.

Another work needing to be done is to see that the raw materials found in the villages are utilised in the village itself and small scale industries are set up to convert it into finished products. Viable economic units of 5 to 10 villages can be formed and they can fix the prices of the goods, for it is necessary that the farmer and villager

gets a fair price for his goods. India does not lack resources; all the resources necessary for the human being are found in the villages, there is only the problem of re-organising the resources to the needs of the people.

We have now seen the picture of the world that we will face from the universal, national and regional stand point, and the question will arise, as youths belonging to this country what can we do to help elevate some of the problems.

After seeing the problems of the country as youths we can decide that because of the poverty and hunger in my country I will not have the ambition to make more money than is necessary to fulfil my basic needs. Today we have turned the citizens in the wrong direction, we have presented them with wrong dreams, given them faulty ambitions, because of this they are misled and dissatisfied.

During our student days we should become conscious of our heritage and should make part and parcel of our very being the teachings that have been given to us by our ancestors. This is the time to learn to control the senses, the tongue, the speech. To learn to keep in control the sense for possession and domination that exists in each one of us and in society. For as long as there is a wish in my mind to become a millionaire, then I will be ready and willing to tell lies, to give bribes etc. no matter how many rules are made and how many extra police are kept, there will be no ending to corruption.

So in student life let the student take a decision that no matter what the reason be I will never take a bribe, I will never take free gifts, I will not buy smuggled goods. You will note that I am not talking about 'giving'. For if I talk about 'giving' a number of arguments will be presented to me, how it is impossible to function in society without 'giving' etc. Hence I am talking about taking. Let the youth decide that in my family, in my home, money got by telling lies, by breaking laws, through sin, unearned income, will not come into the home, no matter what the price I have to pay for it. Now we do not have to go to jail, face lathi charges or bullets but for keeping alive human values

we have to live and pay the price for it. The courage here is not in dying but in living. We will have to keep alive the human values and if it is necessary to die to do it, we will be ready for it too.

So in order to stop corruption and anti-social elements in society I will start with my own life first. There will be control of mind and body, discrimination of needs, self reliance and in ones individual life no dishonesty or corruption. Our Rishis kept alive the human values by the blood of their own lives. Friends ! once again the time has come to give as an offering the austerity of our daily living. We have to bring truthfulness again into our lives, we have to change the direction of the nation. By sacrificing a better standard of living for it by forfeiting fancy clothes and food for it; by doing that if we can save this country of the Rishis then in my mind by a very small price we will have been saved. This is the work of the youth of India.

—Transcribed and edited by Kaiser Jhaveri

Dear Readers,

To spread the message of truth, love and service, *the Awakening* is sent to you at the subsidised price of Re. 1/- or even less, @ Rs. 10/- per annum, while its bare cost is Rs. 2/- per copy. Therefore, unless you have already done so, kindly do remit atleast Rs. 10/- as your annual subscription. Thanks.

—Ed.

SARVODAYA IDEAL AND SATYAGRAHA

The Welfare State which some of the Parliamentary democracies are trying to create is different from the Sarvodaya ideal. I do not think a new order can be established by legislation. Legislation cannot create a change in values, which is the real revolution which Mahatma Gandhi thought of all through his life. I am convinced that the Sarvodaya ideal alone can create a social order, based on freedom and equality. Mahatma Gandhi gave India a most potent weapon or technique to bring about a social change. This was the mantra of Satyagraha. Satyagraha means changing people's scale of values and to make them truthful and fearless.

—Jayaprakash Narayan.

OBITUARY

The *Lok Sevak Sangh* and the *Awakening* pay their humble tribute and respectful homage to Acharya Kripalani. In his passing away we have lost a stalwart of freedom struggle and a titan of the Gandhian era, as if an age has come to an end. Dada, as we affectionately called him, was a politician of uncompromising integrity, utterly selfless and fearless. We salute his memory.

—Ed. (March 19, 1982)

Without Comment

Losses of public enterprises after tax soared to Rs. 182.01 crores in 1980-81 compared to Rs. 74.29 crores in 1979-80, on a total investment of Rs. 19,200 crores and a sales turnover of Rs. 28,645.32 crores....The top ten loss-making enterprises were the Fertilizer Corporation of India (99.69 crores), Eastern Coalfields (Rs. 82.21 crores), Hindustan Fertilizer Corporation (Rs. 54.06 crores), Heavy Engg. Corporation (Rs. 51.13 crores), Delhi Transportation Corporation (Rs. 44.66 crores), Bharat Coking Coal (Rs. 43.94 crores), National Fertilizer (Rs. 42.13 crores), Hindustan Steel Works Construction (Rs. 33.42 crores), Bharat Aluminium (Rs. 23.38 crores) and Air India (Rs. 21.30 crores).

— The Statesman

Haryana Indiscretion

The Haryana Chief Minister, Chaudhry Bhajan Lal's allotment of residential plots at Panchkulla and Faridabad out of the discretionary quota of the Haryana Government to high officials, judges, political leaders is a clear case of political corruption. It should be stopped immediately.

The reasons for the allotment do not satisfy the common man or the lay applicants who have deposited a handsome amount and are awaiting the draw. The amount so collected by the HUDA which is about Rs. 30 crores is in the chest of HUDA Saving Banking earning interest of Rs. 20 lakh per month. A good number of bank officials get promotions or increments as reward for getting the amount deposited in their banks by HUDA.

It is common knowledge that judges, MPs, MLAs, IAS and doctors

already registered "benami" are doing brisk business in purchasing and selling plots and flats.

Our leaders should set good example before the public. The Har-
yana Government should desist from exercising its discretionary powers
in allotting plots in Panchkulla and Faridabad and depend on a fairly
conducted draw.

—N.C. Jain, (Hindstan Times)

Hell of Freedom

This is a parody of famous Prayer of "Gitanjali"

Where the mind is full of intrigues and the head is held low.

Where high office is held for futhering corruption.

Where every calamity is politically exploited.

Where promises are made only to be broken.

Where politicians fight for loaf of office without caring for the
Nation.

Where workers and traders exploit the misery of consumer.

From this hell of freedom, my father, let my country awake.

—K.N. Malaviya, (Hindustan Times)

Once upon a time we had the good sense to realise that periodic
despair is normal, that squabbles between husbands and wives or parents
and children are unavoidable, that not everybody is intended to live in
bliss unending. We even had enough horse sense to realise that anyone
who is happy all the time must be mad. One indication of good health
is precisely the capacity to be unhappy when reality warrants it—to be
unhappy without anxiety, apology or defensiveness.

—Leo Rosten

Correspondence

Dear Editor,

Student as a Social Deterrent

The total devaluation of the politicians is the reality of our national life. The efficiency of the political power in terms of socio-economic changes is not only suspect, but stands debunked by the conduct of the politicians. The apathy of the people towards democratic institutions and democratic process is a direct result of the conviction that all politicians are made of the same fibre and all of them serve no purpose worth the while for society.

The seventies witnessed a distinct rise of the student mass above their petty agitations. They were successful in initiating a national movement for basic changes in social existence. The values that have now come to be known as the points of the Bihar agitation were placed as targets firstly before the student masses and ultimately before the people at large.

To day's students are tomorrow's entire society. They are with burning idealism, honesty and are less corrupt with a fresh outlook for democratic society. They are less influenced by the present evils of our national life. If we can inculcate a sense of direction in them, who represent all classes and sections of our society, by organising them for such basic purposes as eradication of corruption in political field which is the root for all the maladies of our democracy and exploitation in social existence, student power then will acquire the necessary bite as a 'Watch-dog' of democracy.

The student today is not a citizen of tomorrow, but is very much a citizen of today. As such he is destined to play a participatory role in the national life of the country. In the existing struggle for life, the

student does not stand on a pedestal. Along with other sections of the society, he also suffers from the same socio-economic stresses and strains. His education thus is only part of the prolonged struggle for life.

This distinct, independent social class of educated young citizens has a significant part to play in the revolutionary process of social change. This class if organised with constructive approach will grow into a potent force for social change, which could fight and banish the forces of corruption and activities of anti-social elements to create a real democracy.

For an effective democratic society, students should act as a social deterrent by not being connected with or controlled by any political party, nor by aspiring for capturing political power; and thus they can check the authoritarian trends and anti-people or anti-national acts of the political power. Students should play this role as social deterrent in two aspects :

- (1) To create an awakening among the masses regarding the vital public issues; and
- (2) To fight against such evils as political corruption, erosion of values in political life, abuse of political power, etc.....

-- *Chalasani Narendra,*
Lecturer in Logic, Ongole

FROM ALL MAHILAS OF GAUHATI

To
Shrimati Indira Gandhi,
Prime Minister,

January 11, 1982

Through Shri Prakash Mehrotra
Governor of Assam.

Most respected Madam,

Being at the helm of the country you are certainly aware of the facts that besides curtailing the democratic rights of the people, in the

name of security and maintenance of law and order, the authorities have unleashed a reign of terror throughout the State of Assam. Never in the history of Assam, the people have had to suffer such extreme physical tyranny and mental torture. It is surprising that no action so far has been taken by you to ameliorate our distress and to restore, if not the democratic rights, at least the human rights of the people. We therefore strongly feel that you might not have been posted with correct facts and so Madam, we take this opportunity to lay the following facts of tyranny for an early redress by you.

1. The indigenous people of Assam have been made the target for inflicting all sorts of merciless inhuman torture by the C.R.P.F. The C.R.P.F. are only order carriers and they are doing their duty with the spirit that they are not to reason why but to chase, drag, beat up, tear-gas and shoot. Madam, the indigenous people of Assam are as civilized as other citizens of India, they deserve civilized treatment from a civilized government.

2. The Mahilas of Gauhati are particularly concerned with the plight of the Mahilas. Torture to their men-folk is misery enough for them but to lose personal security is dreadful and dangerous. They are being dragged, beaten up, tortured and accorded behaviour tantamounting to molestation. Madam, our misery has become unbearable. We beseech thee to save the honour of our women.

3. A few Illustrative Cases :

(a) On 1-1-82, one jeep was set on fire at Hilly View, Ambari, Gauhati. In this connection one police Officer entered into the house of Srimati Charu Deka, wife of Shri Sumitra Deka, an employee of the Telegraph Office. Her husband was away at office and she was all by herself with her two minor children, the younger only 2 years old. She was asked to give the name of the person who set fire to the jeep. She could not. How could she when she did not even know where and when the jeep was burnt? The Officer dragged her out leaving the two minor children alone, put her in the police van and drove her to the Thana. This happened at 1 p.m. Unfortunately in the Thana, Smty.

Deka suddenly started having discharge, an ailment she has been suffering from since she had an operation after her last child's birth. The officer-in-charge was informed but to no effect. Neither any relief to her ailment nor any material, though asked for was given to her to save her modesty. She spent the long winter night in that condition in the Thana. She was released on 2-1-82; perhaps law does not permit even a guilty person to be treated like this.

(b) On 2.1.82, Srimati Giribala Medhi, wife of Late Dr. Surja Medhi of Rehabari, Gauhati, was having her bath inside the bathroom; police entered her house and though informed by her daughter that her mother was having bath inside, police flung open the door of the bathroom and left the door unshut. Humiliation can not be lowered further down.

(c) Srimati Bijoya Chakravarty, a lecturer of Mongaldai College was arrested and instead of being sent to a jail where accommodation for females is available, she was sent to Bhalukpong, a place without any jail at the outskirts of Tezpur. For days she was kept alone guarded by C.R.P.F. Her feelings of insecurity, mental torture and tension can better be imagined than said.

(d) Many girls are being dragged down from rickshaws, many are chased on the streets and beaten up.

Except item 3(c), all are happenings in Gauhati—in the very heart of the town. How many more such cases are happening in the interior places. God alone is the witness. May we Madam, expect an enquiry into all these above mentioned cases?

4. Whatever the cause may be to perpetuate such atrocities is a folly and never an act of wisdom. We approach you Madam, with heavy heart to lead us out of this hell-fire.

Most respectfully.

Yours

Signatories :

Sd/-

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Supporting Citizens Campaign for Clean Politics

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 Shri L.S. Tur
 Shri Suraj Bhan
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ROLL OF HONOUR

(Contd. from the last Issue)

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| 63. Shri Banarsi Lal Sharma
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New Delhi-110057. |
| 67. Shri J. R. Goyal,
F-16, Geetanjali Enclave,
New Delhi-110017. | 75. Shrimati Ragini Maheshwari,
B 4/46, Safdarjang Enclave,
New Delhi. |
| o
pi Shri D.N. Jhunjunwala,
A-6, Greater Kailash Encl-
New Delhi-110048. | 76. Shri S.D. Sharma,
A-312, Defence Colony,
New Delhi-24. |
| 69. Shri Hari Prasad Sharma,
32/52, Vishvas Nagar,
Shahdara, Delhi. | |
| 70. Shri N.S. Kochhar,
0-35, Lajpat Nagar. II
New Delhi-110024. | |

77. Shri Sevakram,
4, Lajpat Bhawan,
New Delhi.
78. Shri Shukla Raj,
E-12, Defence Colony,
New Delhi-24.
79. Shri Rishi Dev,
E-128/2, East of Kailash
New Delhi-65.
80. Shri D. Parashar,
C-589, New Friends Colony;
New Delhi-65.
81. Shri K.N. Bahl,
G-28, Nizamuddin West,
New Delhi-13.
82. Shri Bal Raj Malhotra.
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New Delhi-110049.
83. Shri R.S. Gupta
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84. Shri Laxmi Narain Modi
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87. Shri H.D. Loomba,
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89. Shri Rekha Girdhar,
H. No.11836/7, Sat Nagar,
Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5.
90. Shri Krishan Hegde,
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Erandwana, Pune-4.
92. Shri Krishanvadan S. Joshi,
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The power of thought. All great living must spring, like a fountain, from within your mind. The quality of the thoughts you think will determine your destiny.

The power of the heart. Emotional drive is the mark of the dynamic achievers. When you put your heart in your work, even so-called impossibilities become possible.

The power of a dream. Great dreams become obsessions which will not be denied. If you are willing to pay the price, you can make your dream come true. "Now and then, not often," wrote Emerson, "a man forgets himself into immortality."

The power of people. Character and ideals are catching. When you associate with men who aspire to the highest and best, you expose your-self to the qualities that make men great.

The power of the spirit. Even Napoleon came to recognize that the spirit is the greatest power of all. After his attempted military conquest of the world had failed he wrote: "There are only two powers in the world, the spirit and the sword. In the long run the sword will always be conquered by the spirit."

You are a divinely appointed guardian of all the powers man has evolved since time began. It is your duty to use these powers for man's continued growth and development and to pass them on renewed and enlarged to those who will follow you.

—Wilferd A. Peterson

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The AWAKENING

Discouraged ? Remember:

When Abraham Lincoln was a young man he ran for the Legislature in Illinois and was badly swamped.

He next entered business, failed and spent seventeen years of his life paying up the debts of a worthless partner.

He was in love with a beautiful young woman to whom he became engaged-and then she died.

Later he married a woman who was a constant burden to him.

Entering politics again, he was badly defeated for Congress.

He failed to get an appointment to the U. S. Land Office.

He was badly defeated for the U. S. Senate.

In 1856 he became a candidate for the Vice Presidency and was again defeated.

In 1858 he was defeated by Douglas.

One failure after another-bad failures-great setbacks. In the face of all this he eventually became one of the country's greatest men, if not the greatest. When you think of a series of set-backs like this, doesn't it make you feel small to become discouraged, just because you think that you are having a hard time in life ?

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